the Republic

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KANO'S CHARISMATIC RIMI

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Nigeria's first Political Magazine

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ATTRACTIONS IN THIS ISSUE

LEAD: "Talking to some young officers one notices a tinge of anomie, especially as rumours are rife about their very senior officers rejecting posting or refusing to carry out orders. The under current elements of ethnic chanvinism in the army are dangerous. Furthermore, while some young khaki "millionaires" are out of the army, a number of them are still within the barracks exhibiting their ill-gotten wealth with reckless abandon". Open to page 3 and get a personal taste of this impressive, analysis of the operation of our presidential system so far. You can't miss it.

REPUBLIC GUEST: "with a party like the NPN, the people will never be redeemed. It is not in reality the intention of the NPN to work along redemptive lines. It is a class party. It is a party of the rich and the bourgeois elements. It is the party of the guilty ones. The NPN is the only party that harbours almost all the criminals that are known and unknown in Nigeria" listen to the words of Kano's charismatic Governor Rimi on hot issues about the country on Page 11.

THE REPUBLICAN: "How did our troubles start in the sixties? Did they not begin with victimisation of innocent folk? Did they not start with the humiliation of people and reducing the salaries of chiefs and obas belonging to rival parties from hundreds of pounds to one single miserable penny as a whole year's salary?" See Page 19 for the editor's contribution.

FOREIGN REVIEW: "Today the Soviet Union is the strongest power in the world. But this military strengrh was built up in order that political concessions could be won, and the Soviets are as aware as their adversaries that there can be no winners in the event of nuclear war". Page 21 is the start of our new foreign series. Read it and be informed.

Republic Viewpoint

MAKING THE POLICE LESS OBEDIENT

ONE of the nicest things anyone can say about the Nigeria Police Force is that they are as obedient as dogs to whoever is in power. They match straight and carry out orders with a starchy precision that leaves no-one in doubt as to who pays the piper.

Like robots they are easily conditioned to use or not to use their dreaded instrument of office, the truncheon, where it pleases the boss.

When soldiers are in power, they serve them. When politicians are in power, they serve them even more faithfully.

In short, our police force is too loyal to have a character that is theirs.

Yes, we can talk about a positive character for a country's police force. The British Sergeant or Inspector has a character that is typically theirs. They are generally believed to be gentlemen in uniform, fair honest and patriotic. So also has the Russian Gestapo. They are strict, tough, brutal and thorough in running the police state that is required of them as an obligation.

But the Nigerian policeman has no character to his credit, except that he is too loyal to those in authority, cringy, boot-licking and favour-currying. And that is not a national spirit.

Recent charges of partisan activities levelled against the police call to mind their role during the first Republic when they were used by political leaders to commit atrocities that eventually led to civil war.

Whoever was in opposition with the master's voice became an enemy of the police.

This was unfortunate. A police force worth its name must be detached and nationalistic in spirit to win respect of the leader and the led.

Playing to the whims and caprices of those in power may earn promotions and pats on the back for the police alright but the image they cut across the nation is poor and tragic.

"But the situation is dangerous for the country. As long as it continues we shall all lose confidence in the police and our rulers who condone if not solicit partisan activities of the police. Rival parties would think out not too healthy means of protecting their interests. They would be tempted to mobilise their supporters and retaliate in any ways they can, thereby unleashing the type of political brigandage that led to our civil war".

Right now history is repeating itself as political opponents keep crying out everyday against victimisation by police who have taken sides with the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) all over the country

This is understandable. The NPN is the party in power. Promotion for police personnel is in their hands. Their favours are therefore to be courted, hence the over zealousness to be in NPN good books.

But the situation is dangerous for the country. As long as it continues we shall all lose confidence in the police and our rulers who condone if not solicit partisan activities of the police. Rival parties would think out not too healthy means of protecting their interests. They would be tempted to mobilise their supporters and retaliate in any way they can, thereby unleashing the type of political brigandage that led to our civil war.

This is why we believe that the Inspector-General of Police, hit the nail on the head when he pledged that his men would steer clear of partisan politics.

We believe that the Nigeria Police of the eighties should cut an image that is far superior to that of the sixties and seventies. This change can come only through efficient management and a conscious effort from the Federal Government. The Police Force should be equipped with men and materials to meet the challenges of an ever growing population undergoing complex socio-economic changes.

There is nothing new to this suggestion. It has been said before, but no government appears to have taken this message seriously. Unless the police are empowered to go about their jobs effectively, honestly and detachedly, our second experiment in civil republicanism will certainly be a flop.

THE EXECUTIVE PRESIDENCY SO FAR

By Isawa Elaigwu

(Department of Political Science), University of Jos

IT was Shakespeare (Iago in Othello) who once said — 'there are many events in the womb of time'. As we move towards the twenty-first century, you will agree with me that many events have taken place in our political system. At times one wonders if we have not crammed into a few years the experiences older nations acquired over centuries of their developmental process.

This has meant, also, that Nigeria has had to succumb to THREE basic issues of universal reality in the last half of the twentieth century. The first of these is **Technological Revolution** (including communication revolution) which has turned the world into a global village and rendered the borders of Nigeria (like those of other states) highly pervious. There has been great **population** explosion (including identity explosion; which has meant greater demands on the decision-making units of various states for participation and resolving social welfare problems.

Finally, there has been greater demand for **resources** (including distribution of scarce but allocatable resources) in a world in which the pressure on the environment for resource extraction has had no historical precedence. The desire to distribute the little resources available has been a bone of contention among nations and within nation states. For Nigeria, we have just witnessed the transformation of **oil boom** into **oil gloom** without affecting the lives of the peasants.

It is within this international context that we shall take a look at Nigeria's Presidential system in practice so far. After all, Nigeria's new form of government is a product of cross-fertilization of ideas in the new global village — the world — with special reference to the United States.

(1)

NIGERIA: POLITICAL EXPERIENCE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

While it may not be useful to beat the colonial dead horse anymore for the ailments of Nigeria, it may be argued that ambivalent integration under colonial rule was partially responsible for generating fears and suspicions among Nigerians. After the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914, the colonial authorities made no effect to encourage horizontal interaction among the various groups for understandable reasons. Such encouragement would herald the good riddance of the colonial masters from the scene as groups developed mutual confidence and anti-colonial psychology.

Colonial rule encouraged vertical relationship between the local administrative units and the colonial centres of power. The result was that Nigerians of Northern and Southern Provinces never had an opportunity to interact politically until 1947 (under the Richards Constitution). This led to suspicions and fears as people of one political unit found themselves interacting with one another as strangers. They had had no opportunity to build up mutual confidence among themselves through horizontal forms of interaction. The parochialism among Nigerian groups we shall call the **parochialism of Ignorance**,— for each group was ignorant of the other.

President Shagari

But between 1946 — 54, it had become evident that the colonial administration would soon fold its political umbrella. Naturally Nigerians 'battled' for the inheritance of the colonial legacy — to fill the political vacuum. In this competitive setting Nigerians withdrew into the cocoons of their ethnic or ethnoregional bad-fellows to organize in order to inherit the political power from the Colonial masters. Intense ethnic and ethnoregional rivalries erupted in the late 1950s — based on mutual suspicions among Nigerian groups. This parochialism in the terminal colonial period, we may call **Parachialism of Awareness** — for it was based on awareness of others in the competitive setting.

Related to the above are two important issues which escalated fears and suspicions among groups — i) **the structural imbalance in Nigeria's Federal System,** and ii) the **differential spread in the Pattern of Western Education.**

It was J. S. Mill who once said that in a federal system, 'there should not be any one state so much more powerful than the rest as to be capable of vying in strength with many of them combined...' Similarly, the doyen of federalism, K. C. Wheare, warned that 'it is undesirable that one or two units should be so powerful that they can overrule the others and bend the will of the federal government to themselves...'

We would like to suggest that in the First Republic, the lop-sided federal structure generated fears and suspicions among groups. **The Northern Region was in a position to hold the whole country to ransome,** as shown by the figures below:-

Given the above figures, it was not surprising that in the Southern part of the country, there was always the fear of domination by virtue of the Northern Region's large population — the **tyranny of population.** To them the federal structure as it existed made it virtually impossible for the south to control political power at the centre given the ethnoregional politics in the country.

Region	Area (%)	Population (%) (1963 Census)
North	79.0	53.5
East	8.3	22.3
West	8.5	18.4
Midwest	4.2	4.6
Lagos	—	1.2

Similarly, given the Southern headstart in Western education (which had become a passport into occupational roles in the modern sector of the Nigerian political system) the North feared Southern domination in the economic and public service sectors of the society. **The possibility of tyranny of skills from the South was verdant in the memories of Northern leaders.** It then sought to protect its civil service from being swamped by the South.

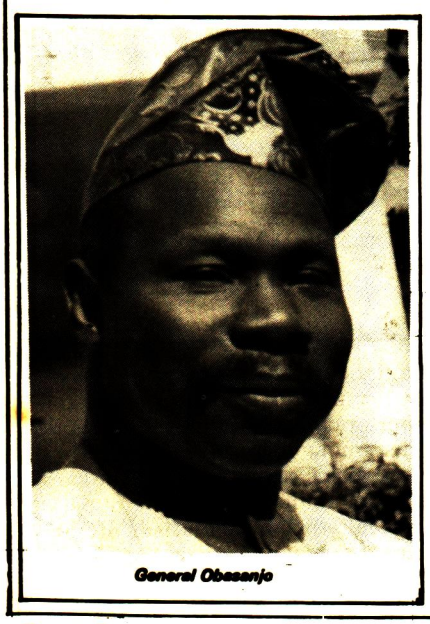
It may be suggested that there was a relative division of functions between the North and the South which maintained some delicate balance in the political system. **The Northern control of political power was counter-balanced by the South's monopoly of economic power in the country.** We may even go further to suggest that the January coup in 1966 tilted this delicate balance, and the North reacted violently.

By 1965, however, it had become very clear that the ballot box and the future of plebiscitarean democracy had become very bleak. A number of factors discernible in the system, gave this indication: i. the break-down of the rules of the game of politics which profusely polluted the political stadium (and in absence of avenues for political ventilation) made politics as dangerous for players as well as spectators; ii. gross misuse of political power; iii. misappropriation of public funds and widespread corruption among public officers; iv. imprudent political and economic decisions in allocation of scarce but allocatable resources; v. erosion of the rights of individuals vi. disenfranchisement of Nigerian populace through blatant rigging of elections; and vii. conspicuous consumption of politicians amidst the abject poverty of the masses.

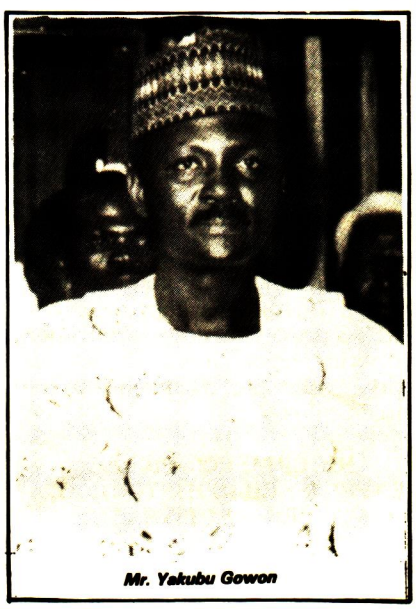
Thus, by 1965 our first attempt at the use of the ballot box was punctuated by crisis. Soon the 'bullet box' relegated the 'ballot box' into obscurity, and the parliamentary system was kicked brutally to a fatal future.

THE BALLOT BOX AND THE BARRACKS: THE TRUMPH OF THE BULLET BOX

For a while the new politicians in Khaki uniforms tried to cope with the problems which had plagued the Nigerian political system. By Decree No.1, 1966 Contitution (Suspension and Modification), the Federal Military Government assumed 'the power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Nigeria or any part



General Obasanjo



Mr. Yakubu Gowon

thereof with respect to any matter whatsoever'. But in practice the regions maintained their autonomy under the new military governors despite the hierarchical military structure.

It took Ironsi five months before he made up his mind to centralize political power in Nigeria. The Decree No.34, Constitution (Suspension and Modification) (Decree No.34, 1966)' abolished the regions, established 'groups of provinces' and introduced a unitary form of government into Nigeria's political arena. Furthermore, certain grades of public officers were now to be absorbed into a national civil service. **Feeling grossly threatened by this action, the North reacted violently in one of the bloodiest forms of communal instability this country has ever witnessed.**

Then, came the second coup of July, 1966 which was the North's vengeful coup. Like the January coup, it was only partially successful. The Eastern Region had not been involved in the coup. From then on, the political crises took on additional dimensions of hostility between the Eastern and Federal Governments. At the instance of General Ankrah of Ghana, Nigerian leaders met at Aburi in January 1967. This led to a new political experiment in Nigeria's search for appropriate form of government. Decree No.59, 1966 had returned Nigeria to 'Federalism' under the military. Now, on March 17, 1967, Nigerian leaders found that they had to grapple with a confederal system as introduced by Decree No.8, 1967, 17th March 1967. By this Decree the central government was virtually at the mercy of regional governments. Major decisions on policies and appointments needed the concurrence of all Military Governors and the Armed Forces were to be decentralized into Area Commands'.

For all practical intents and purposes, Nigeria became a confederal system. It took a political coup by General Gowon on May 27, 1967 to end this impasse. Gowon created 12 states in Nigeria, thus attacking effectively one of the basic problems of Nigeria's Federal system — the imbalance in federal structure. But it came on the eve of secession and did not solve the immediate political problems, but had long-term effects. **As from the date of the creation of states to July 1975 when Gowon was ousted in a bloodless coup, there was no doubt that he had effectively centralized political power.** No state was in a position to threaten secession any longer.

Then came the Murtala Muhammed regime which shocked Nigeria out of lethargy and gave a momentary sense of direction to the system. It was soon shocked out of existence and General Obasanjo took over as captain of the ship. Obasanjo followed his political programme to conclusion, even if this was done colourlessly.
On October 1, 1979, he handed over power to civilians and retired to the 'sufferance' of a luxurious existence on his farm.

III
PRESIDENTIALISM AND FEDERALISM IN NIGERIA TODAY

October 1, 1979 was a threshold in Nigeria's political history — a watershed between the military and the new civilian regimes as well as a change from Westminster model of government to a Presidential system. Perhaps the future will highlight the importance of this political watershed. Let us take a look at the Presidential System so far and tentatively evaluate the performance of our political actors. In this process we shall state the problems and prospects of this system of government.

"The hurried clandestine operation in deporting Shugaba gave a political colour to an action which the President is entitled to take, but which has become politically stigmatized because of the crudity in implementation".

The **Presidency** is the first institution we shall discuss. The President incumbent, Alhaji Shehu Shagari is, generally, a moderate and humble man — at l ast — that is the impression one gets. He is taking up his duties slowly but surely. Similarly, the presidential system as a whole is taking off gradually, but with hopes for the future. However, Shehu Shagari needs to be careful and he seems very much aware of this. After all, the whirlwind of Nigeria's inchoate political culture has either immobilised its leaders in the past or helped to destroy them.

A subtle politician, he seems to be very much interested in the politics of accommodation, tolerance and compromise — traits which many of his assistants and party men lack. Some of his recent actions have won him some credibility. As illustrations — his denounciation of the salary scale suggested by the National Assembly won him national acclaim. Similarly, in a country where politicians, academics, etc. take extreme pride in symbols, titles and honorary statuses, President Shagari's order that he should no longer be addressed as 'His Excellency', stole the show from many governors who really cherish the title.

On the other hand, President Shagari has made two stumbles: i. the immigration laws and their implementation in the case of Shugaba smacks of political overkill. ii. the issue of liaison officers vindicated the communication gap between the president and the state governors. **In both cases, the president seems to have been misadvised.** The Borno State Governor, as the Chief Security Officer of the State, should have been informed about Shugaba's deportation.

The hurried clandestine operation in deporting Shugaba gave a political colour to an action which the President is entitled to take, but which has become politically stigmatized because of the crudity in implementation. Furthermore, it raised the issue of citizenship in Nigeria as allegation that Akinjide, Paul Unongo and Dr. Alexander Fom are not Nigerians, seem to confirm. **Yet, in politics, stumbles of this nature are not easily ameliorated without loss of credibility.**

In a way, it may be argued that the nature of election results are strengths as well as weaknesses, it is a strength for the political system because no party got enough majority in National Assembly to flex its political muscle at others. This has imposed a sense of moderation and co-operation among politicians. On the other hand, it may also be a weakness because the compromise dilutes the executive authority of the Presidents, we would have loved to see in action to enable us effect amendments to the constitution.

The Governors seem to reassert federally desirable autonomy of States in areas of their jurisdiction. A few traits exhibited by the Governors attract our attention here. The militarization of political culture in thirteen years of military rule has entailed the militarization of the political style and lan-

guage of most Nigerians. The reference often made to 'old brigade' and the new brigade' in Nigerian politics is a sign of the militarization of Nigeria's political language.

In the same vein the civilian governors of the states, having been schooled for thirteen years under military rule are having problems in making a smooth transition from military regime to a democratic civilian regime. **The ultimatums and threats they issued are the legacies of military Governors which have been hard to shed. One hopes this will change in future.**

Secondly, many Governors have not found it an easy task adapting to their new political roles. **A good politician is one who is capable of adapting to the role of the politician and the statesman as situations demand.** Many governors have not been able to change from their roles of a **soap box politician** to that of the **statesman** in Government House. As a successful politician in election, a governor automatically becomes the 'father' of all in his state, whether they are his party bed-fellows or not. The recent politicial blunder by Governor Alli in Bendel during the President's visit is a very lucid example of this issue. In a way Governor Lar of **Plateau State did make amends on** Alli's behaviour by his display of statesmanship during Shagari's visit to Jos.

In addition, some governors have not learnt the value of political reticence. While in religion 'men are saved by faith alone', as Halifax observed, in 'political life, men are saved by lack of faith alone'. **This lack of faith means that it is an unforgivable political crime for a politician to be very blunt or too straight-forward. Some sensitive issues can be left for commissioners to comment on. This gives the governor the leeway to issue corrections if public reactions become really adverse to such statements of his assistants. Nasty remarks should be left to party men.** Governors must lend credibility to the institution which they fill as much as they acquire personal credibility from that institution

Some governors really seem to enjoy the office much more than they had expected. The result is that many states have yet to take off in five months of their assumption of office. Some have alienated their deputies and sections of their states. **What the Governors have not realized is that unlike the military Governor they have an electorate from which they must seek re-election. The politics of alienation is counter-productive. A good politician first uses the mechanism of co-optation of opponents, and toleration of enemies. Some governors have taken actions which invade the powers of the legislature. Unlike the military governors, our present governors are not legislators. The cases of local government elections in Cross River and Kwara States and Crash Helmets and abolition of tax in Kaduna State illustrate this.**

There seems to be a big communication gap between the President and the governors. At times this has created autistic hostility coinciding with lines of cleavages among political parties. The opposition to the appoint-state governors illustrate the existing communication gap.

In addition, there have been allegations of intimidation and political overkill in all states by members of political parties not in government. This is not unrelated to the persistence of certain political values in Nigeria — where nothing succeeds as much as success and nothing fails as much as failure. It seems doubtful if Nigerians can have a Richard Nixon who failed and through perseverance succeded in becoming the President of U.S.A. Nigerian politicians have to realize the volatility of power in Nigeria. Any erosion of civil rights is an application to the 'bullet box' as an alternative method of selecting our leaders.

State — Federal Relations do not need to be sour because of differences in parties. While state's great financial dependence on the centre erodes states autonomy the threat by states that they will take over Federal Institutions smack of echoes of the past which is jarring to our political ears. Some governors should have realized that given our peculiar conditions, state take-over of Nigerian Television (NTV) does not help them. There is the need for greater decentralization of Federal Institutions. For example, NTV can be so decentralized that while they are still federally-owned, the states could control recruitment and programmes, to help reflect the interests of the local people who watch the Nigeria Television programmes. The present zonal administrations should be scrapped and state governments given greater authority as mentioned above.

The Federal Government should co-ordinate activities of the various stations in Lagos. After all, suppose the UPN — controlled states decide to 'black out' a Presidential Address, there is little that can be constitutionally done since the stations would have been state-controlled.

It was Shridath Ramphal who said: For a Federation to be able to resist failure, the leaders and their followers must 'feel federal' — they must be moved to think of themselves as one people, with one common, self-interest in capable, where necessary, of overriding most other considerations of small group interest ...'

While it is necessary to maintain state autonomy, our past experiences show that a very weak centre can be very disastrous. True — enough, there is need for separate identity of states, but there is also greater need for the unity of **Nigeria** which is greater than any of its parts.

The issue of **Creation of additional states** has continued to pester the Presidential system. Like all medicinal prescriptions the creation of states which helped to resolve the problem of structural imbalance has had its own side-effects — some political rashes. These political rashes are the emergence of 'new majorities' and 'new minorities'. The issue of fear of domination becomes more decentralized as groups seek avoidance mechanism to project their interests. The creation of more states would lead to greater dependence on the centre and to greater centralization to power. Federalist state-power watch-dogs should watch this. **Given the numerous demands for states and the procedures for creating additional states I cannot see any state being created before 1983.**

The relationship between **the Barracks and the Ballot Box** is important to the success of our Presidential System. The boundaries between the barracks and the political arena is so thin, that extra-caution is needed in political performance.

Talking to some young officers one notices a tinge of anomie, especially as rumours are rife about their very senior officers exhibiting traits of indiscipline like rejecting posting or refusing to carry out orders. The undercurrent elements of ethnic chauvinism in the army are dangerous. Furthermore, while some young 'Khaki millionaires' are out of the army, a number of them are still

Contd. from page 21

KANO'S CHARISMATIC RIMI

NO doubt, Kano's young and dynamic Governor, Mohammed Abubakar Rimi is a man surrounded by the aura of charisma.

In the electioneering days of the soap box, the firy charge of this political debutant attracted a lot of attention.

This was because he had all that a man of charisma ought to have: a comely appearance, youth, vigour, talents, a good education and a mouth that appeals to the populace.

Besides he has a past that adequately prepared him for his present task.

Born in 1940 at Rimi in the Sumaila District of the Wudil Local Government area he had his primary school education from 1950-1958 after which he attended the Institute of Administration, Zaria, the University of London, then the University of Sussex, Brighton where he bagged his Master of Arts degree in 1975.

He also has a creditable working experience that spans across the nation to other countries making Kano a relatively small area for him. He started as an Instructor at the Institute of Administration, Zaria, then at the Clerical Training Centre, in Sokoto after which he became an Information Officer with the Federal Ministry of Information Lagos and later posted to Egypt as Information and Cultural Attache at the Nigerian Embassy in Cairo. In 1976 he was transferred to the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos as Secretary.

During the preparations for civilian politics he left Federal Service and went closer to his people and was elected as member of the Constituent Assembly in 1977. When politics was given free reign he became a foundation member of the People's Redemption Party (PRP) and got chosen eventually as PRP gubernatorial candidate.

He got a crushing victory in his election as Governor of Kano State on July 28, 1979.

He merited it. His hard work and very able campaign, using the popular ideals and manifesto of the PRP under the father image of one of Nigeria's frontline revolutionaries, Malam Aminu Kano he easily scaled over his opponents.

Immediately he was at the helm of affairs in the state he started a government of pragmatism and dynamism as expected.

Some said it was more of exuberance than worth, while others would bet their horse that this was a man to watch.

Governor Rimi

His seven months in power in Kano State have adequately proved that Mohammed Rimi is equal to the task of governing one of Nigeria's most populous states.

He appears capable of making true his election promise that Kano State would provide a government from which others would come to learn the arts of governance as a show piece.

He prizes effective government and therefore has a penchant for military toughness and brusqueness. He wasn't a hundred days in office when he dis-

played signs of getting things done with despatch and celerity.

In Murtala style he repealed the regulation against the wearing of crash helmets in the state, sacked four permanent Secretaries, abolished community and cattle taxes and issued orders for the opening of a hospital which red-tape had hindered.

Blunt in character, this PRP Andrew Young did not hesitate to tell the legislators in the Kaduna House of Assembly a piece of his mind over the manner they had been holding his counterpart to ransome.

Above all he is the most practical exponent of the PRP ideology in the country, since his colleague in Kaduna is being virtually choked by the NPN-dominated House of Assembly.

He staunchly preaches 'Democratic Humanism' which his party advocates as a political philosophy based on the ideals of 'meaningful, dynamic and participatory democracy' and humanism to ensure social justice to each individual in the society.

To get his mission through he has picked a team of progressive youngmen from various walks of life and spelt out his priorities to include education, Agriculture, Water supply, Health services and Housing.

Preferring to lead by example rather than precept he is one of Nigeria's new set of rulers who have spurned the glories and comforts associated with the government house and prefers to live in less glorified quarters, if not his personal house.

He also holds that 'the use of the phrase your Excellency' is another manifestation of an anachronistic colonial practice. 'He would rather, be addressed simply as 'The Governor of Kano State'.

It is not surprising that this articular youngman has held the people of his state spell-bound as he unleashes his breath-taking government strategies with each passing day with such vehemence and a sense of direction. There is no doubt that he is very easily infusing a sense of ideology, nationalism and pride in the people of Kano State.

However Alhaji Abubakar Rimi may have to tread softly where angels fear to do so. His out spokeness against Chieftaincy institutions emanating from their dubious roles during the electioneering campaign were rather on the tough side for a leader in Kano State where obsequiousness to royalty is as strong as any parts of the northern states.

But one would understand if it is known that Rimi's goal is to free the people from every form of mental subjugation, both cultural and national. He is not out for anarchy or unnecessary disregard of traditional values but to ensure that chieftaincy institutions limit themselves to their former roles strictly as depositaries of cultural heritage and traditional religion.

Gov. Rimi visiting the sick

THE CHANGING FACES OF KANO

KANO State sprawls across an area presently covering 42,592.8 square kilometres with a population of 5,774,842 (1963 census), easily becoming one of Nigeria's sbiggest states.

The state formally came into existence on 1st April, 1968 when Yakubu Gowon took the historic decision to create states as an attempt to settle once and for all the fear of domination that had driven the nation to experiment on various formulae of unitary government and federalism.

It was carved out of the former Northern Nigeria, a vast expanse of the terrian that today has ten of Nigeria's 19 states.

Today Kano State is regarded as the industrial and commercial nerve-centre for West Africa, North of the River Niger.

It is comprised of four emirates, Kano, Hadejia, Kazaure and Gumel. Kano became known to the outside world as far back as A.D. 1513 when the much travelled Moroccan peripatetic scholar, Leo Africanus visited it.

Since then Kano has weathered through a rich historical succession of dynasties and emirates to have a modern system of government today that leaves her with its first executive government, a municipal council and 19 local government councils, making a total of 20 authorities, 16 of which are in Kano Emirate, 2 in Hadejia and one each in Gumel and Kazaure.

Apart from a dense population and its size the contribution of the state to national economy cannot be over stressed.

The state has a considerable number

The Emire of Kano

of livestock; cattle are about 750,000; sheep, 448,000; goats, well over 1,600, 780; donkeys, 263,263; horses, 85,000 and camels 561.

The vast land is suitable for agriculture, which is the bedrock on which the bulk of its economy rests, employing about 80% of the population. The main crops grown include guinea-corn, millet, groundnut, beans, cow-pea, cotton, rice and maize.

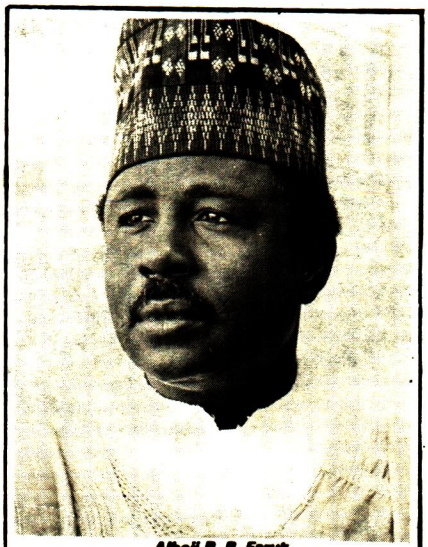
It is important to note that it is the largest producer of groundnut in the federation and that before the oil boom, groundnut along with cocoa and palm produce from other parts of the country were the life-blood of the country's economy. The Kano pyramids' need no introduction, although the negligence of agriculture in the wake of petro-Naira has made them virtually non-existent. But this is only temporary as the present administration has strongly vouched to get the pyramids back.

In addition to agriculture some mining is also carried out especially on tin and columbite.

The economic life is further strengthened with the creation of Tiga dam and the Kadawa Irrigation scheme.

As for industrial growth, Kano has for long remained an important emporium of trade in the northern part of the country.

There are 348 medium and small size industrial establishments in the state with a combined annual output of over ₦80 million.



Alhaji B. B. Faruk
Deputy Governor,
Kano State.

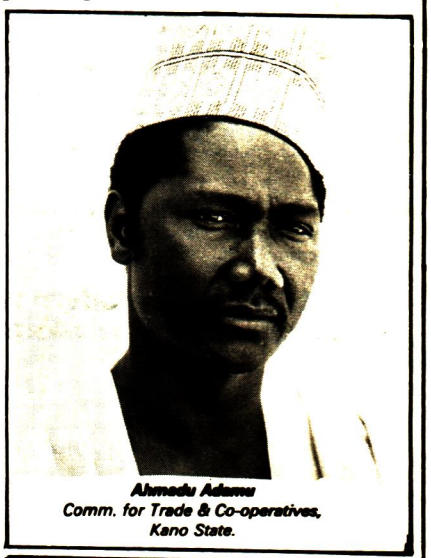
Home Affairs and Information poblication titled: "Kano State Handbook" to which we are indebted for much of the information contained here.

These industries alone employed about 17930 people. Furthermore the density of population explains the ready market for consumer goods. Expenditure on items other than food is estimated to be over ₦140 million a year.

As a tourist centre Kano State is amongst the frontline states in Nigeria. For centuries it has been a major attraction to sight-seeing vistors. It is one of the oldest settlements in West Africa.

Today tourist centres abound to heighten the curiosity of tourists. Places of interest include the Falgore Game Reserve, Tiga Dam where boating could be enjoyed, Bagauda Lake Hotel, Central Hotel, Daula Hotel, Akija Hotel, Kandara Palace Hotel, Kano Guest Inn, Residential Hotel etc.

Also of immense significance is the Tiga Dam Rock castle, the pre-historic Dalla Hill where the founders of Kano first settled, the Birnin Kudu rock paintings, etc.



Ahmadu Adamu
Comm. for Trade & Co-operatives,
Kano State.

Dr. Sadiq Wali
Comm. for Health,
Kano State.

Besides Kano is one of the notable towns in Nigeria with gigantic city walls built round it. It has been a major centre of attraction for years.

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HOW I WANT TO TRANSLATE PRP INTO ACTION

REPUBLIC: Sir, in a few days time you will have been seven months at the helm of affairs in Kano State. How do your feel about being governor of the state? Has it been easy-going or problematic?

GOV. RIMI: We don't have any serious problems of settling down to government. We started very well and we believe we are not doing badly. We have a very competent cabinet and able and dedicated public servants. So we really don't have any serious problems of running the administration at all.

Most important of all, we have the people of the state solidly behind us.

REPUBLIC: Given the reception you have received in the state, the popularity with which you were elected, how far do you think you are going with the implementation of the People's Redemption Party (PRP) ideals in the state, so that we may be able to assess your major achievements so far in your priority areas?

GOV. RIMI: Everything we have been doing has been strictly in conformity with PRP programmes and manifesto. Essentially we are concerned with the general welfare of people and we want to do away with the wanton exploitation of man by man and the subjugation of the masses by those in authority and also change the philosophy and orientation of socio-economic planning which hitherto has been essentially urban-oriented. In other words, no body cares about the people in the rural areas in the villages.

Everything is concentrated in the city and people have to come to the city to see the good things of life. We think that should not be the case at all. Therefore we are mapping out development programmes and projects with a view to developing the rural areas where the masses of our people are living. These rural areas have been neglected for a very long time. Infact they have never been included in serious national economic planning. As a first step towards the achievement of this objective we have created a new ministry called the Ministry of Rural and Community Development, so that there is a whole Department of Government with a commissioner in the cabinet to take care of the development of the rural areas.

We are concentrating also in the area of irrigation farming because the vast majority of our people live on the farm. They have no other means except farming and this farming as you know is seasonal in Nigeria. It is only when the rains fall that the farmers at least in this part of the country are able to farm. What we want is to give a lot of attention to irrigation farming so that people would be able to produce food and cash crops all the year round. If they can be on the farm all the year round that means unemployment would be drastically reduced as people would have something to do all the time.

Also it means that people would have regular income.

The Republic Editor, George Ohemu with Gov. Rimi during interview.

The abject poverty which we see in the rural areas is as a result of lack of economic activity on the part of the people who are living there. They don't do anything. There are no industries There is no farming except during the rainy season.

Everything is in the city. So we believe by engaging in irrigation farming and by also dispersing industry to the rural areas, life there will be much improved. As a matter of my government's policy we insist that irrigation must go to the rural areas.

REPUBLIC: Is there any new industry that you are envisaging now?

GOV. RIMI: I wouldn't say any new but most of the industries we want to establish will certainly be in the different local government areas, rather than putting them in Kano municipality. That is what is happening now. You look round Kano everything is beautiful, electricity, tarred roads, everything. Immediately you leave Kano two kilometres you begin to see the bush and it continues like that. We don't think that is a good way of planning at all. We can develop any part of this state, any rural areas. All we have to do is pay attention to that area and have a good rural integrated programme for rural development so that you have the siting of industries. You have the development of new towns. **When you put so many villages into one place you are able to give them modern amenities like schools, hospitals and electricity and so on rather than allowing people to live in scattered villages where they are not big enough to have a school and they have to travel so many kilometres for their children to attend school.**

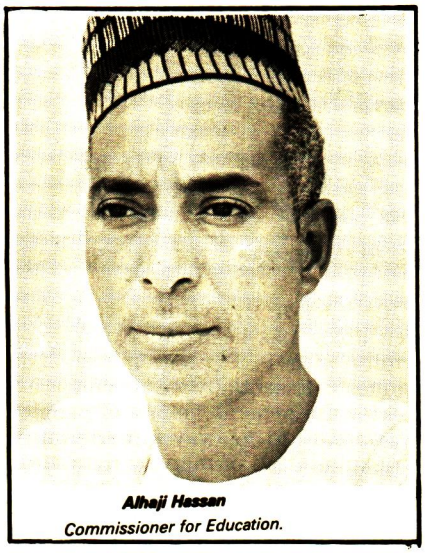
We want to bring people together at the rural areas and then put needed items of development like water, electricity etc, and provide employment opportunities by so doing.

REPUBLIC: This aspect of your programme is like one of the Unity Party of Nigeria's (UPN) four cardinal principles.

GOV. RIMI: I don't know how the UPN are going about their own but certainly we have our own programme of rural development and we are giving it a very serious attention and as far as we are concerned it is a priority area.

REPUBLIC: Groundnut used to be one of the mainstays of our economy before oil was exploited in huge quantity and it came mostly from Kano. Do you have any programme in mind for groundnut especially at least to ensure that Kano maintains its former pride of place.

GOV. RIMI: During my visit to local government areas this issue was raised. I remember specifically, by the District Head of Dambatta when I visited him sometime in December. I told him then and I still maintain that we will revive the production of groundnut in Kano to an even higher scale than it used to be in the past.



Alhaji Hassan
Commissioner for Education.

Alhaji Shanunu
Commissioner for Local Govt.

Dr. A. T. Abubakar
Commissioner for Housing

A lot of factors led to the reduction in the production of groundnuts. First of all there was the problem of drought and apart from that because the country had oil in the early 70s we mistakenly concentrated our attention on oil rather than agriculture, fogetting that this oil while it brings a lot of money, really employs very little labour and in addition the oil doesn't belong to individuals. It belongs to the states, where oil is found. But agricultural products belong to the people who produce them.

Due to this concentration on oil we forgot and infact neglected our agriculture but now that there is a glut in the oil market and that so many countries around the world have got oil the commodity is not selling as much as it used to sell in the past, so attention is being paid once again to agriculture and we intend developing agriculture in this state to the extent of diversyfying the crops we produce and groundnut being both a cash and food crop it is one among others that receive our attention. We want to get the pyramids back once again.

REPUBLIC: From what we have discussed so far there are no signs of communism yet. How do you react to your being branded a communist? Do you see chances of Nigeria ever becoming a communist country?

GOV. RIMI: I read it myself on the pages of the Herald which is an NPN Newspaper, that I am a communist but, the interesting thing was that it was the headline that implied that I was a communist. The main body of the story did not say so. What happened was that some Russians paid me a courtesy call, some Russian labour leaders who were invited by the Nigerian Labour Congress to visit Nigeria. In the course of discussion I told them how much we are interested in the welfare of our people, like trade unions are interested in the welfare of their members and the type of changes which we are introducing, changes which reactionaries would not like, that anybody who did not like what we were doing might as well go and settle in America. That was all I said. Two days later the Heral came out with a banner story that I am a communist. Of course they were aimed further by a statement coming from the NPN Press Secretary here in Kano.

You see I am a politician. I am never bothered by silly statements like that. Moreover when you are following a pattern of government you don't operate it privately or individually, you do it according to constitution. You run a government in accordance with your constitution and the Nigerian Constitution has no place for communism. The type of constitution which we have

is one that allows mixed economy and allows public and private enterprise. Therefore anything outside that is unconstitutional.

If anybody says I am a communist he is not only being mischievous, he is also being ignorant of the fact that you cannot operate communism when the constitution has provided for something different.

But you see in politics there is nothing you don't hear. The NPN for instance call me all sorts of names. They use all sorts of allegations against me. They go on the soap-box and abuse me. They call my name and abuse me and abuse my parents. Many people feel that I should charge them to court for defamation of character or libel or anything like that. But I never thought that was necessary at all. When you say something on pages of newspapers or make a statement on radio or television, you must appreciate that thousands and thousands of people will read, hear or watch what you say and that many of these people are sensible and responsible people. They are not idiots. People can read between the lines. It is not everything that people say that others believe. In politics you have to develop a thick skin to a lot of nasty things which are false, vindictive and mischievous. When you hear all these accusations the most important thing to do is to find out who made the accusations, who made the statements. If you read something in the **New Nigerian** or in **Herald** or something emanating from NPN sources about us, then you have to be very careful because it is coming from the wrong quarters. They will never say the true things about us at all. But we are never bothered. We will not change our attitude or our style of government.

We will continue to do what we are doing. Anybody can say anything that is entirely their own business. They can say their thing while we do our thing.

REPUBLIC: Would you then say that the constitution which we have now is the best thing for the country. Would you not prefer if it was something else?

GOV. RIMI: I took part in making that constitution and I don't have much criticism of it because I can tell you that a lot has been done before that constitution became what it is now. You will recall that the late Head of State appointed the CDC, the Constitution Drafting Committee in 1975. It was given one year to complete its assignment. After submission of its reports there was open debate for another year, over the draft constitution. And after that there was election into the Constituent Assembly which some of us contested and won and then we went over the draft constitution again. We did that for one year. Having finished with that members of the armed forces also put in their own views. So you will find that it was not a one man affair. It was not done by just a section of the country or one group of people. There was the widest possible representation in making the constitution and the best intellectuals were both in the CDC and the Constituent Assembly.

All sorts of people with varying experiences and backgrounds were there — traditional rulers, economists, politicians, diplomats, journalists, lawyers, engineers, architects, farmers, businessmen, industrialists were all either in the CDC or in the Constituent Assembly. So really I would say that we have a very good constitution. But no matter how good a constitution is, the successful operation of that consitution depends to a large extent on the people who are operating it. Right now the constitution is being violated, particularly by the Federal Authorities. A typical example of this is the illegal deportation of the Borno State Assembly Majority Leader, Alhaji Shugaba Abdulrahaman who was forcefully and illegally deported out of the country by the immigration authorities on the orders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and endorsed by the President.

Alhaji Abdu Abdurrahim
Commissioner for Finance

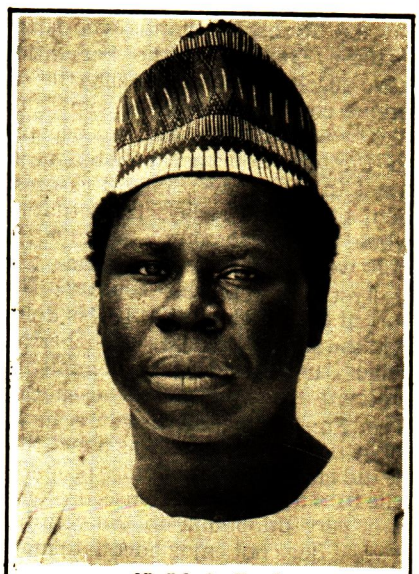
Now that act was not only illegal. It was abnoxious and highly irresponsible. It was an abuse of authority on the part of the president. That sort of thing should never be repeated.

Another illegality committed by the President of the whole country, Shehu Shagari is the appointment of Liaison Officers. That also is unconstitutional. There is nowhere in the whole constitution where the president was given powers to appoint liaison officers. Funny enough both the President, his agents and the liaison officers are defending this illegality by giving a very wrong example of states having liaison officers in Lagos. This is really stupid. It is very very stupid because there is no basis of comparison between the two.

The liaison officers in Lagos have been there since the military era. They have been there for about 14 years.

Secondly these officers are civil servants who are simply posted there on duty to Lagos to take charge of the interests of the states concerned; to follow up things in ministries; also to take care of guests, visitors and officials coming to Lagos from the various states because of accommodation and transport problems. These are all part of the reasons for the establishment of liaison offices in Lagos. They were never meant for politicians. They are meant for civil servants.

But wh of these liaison officers?



Alhaji Aminu Yusuf
Commissioner for Special Duties.

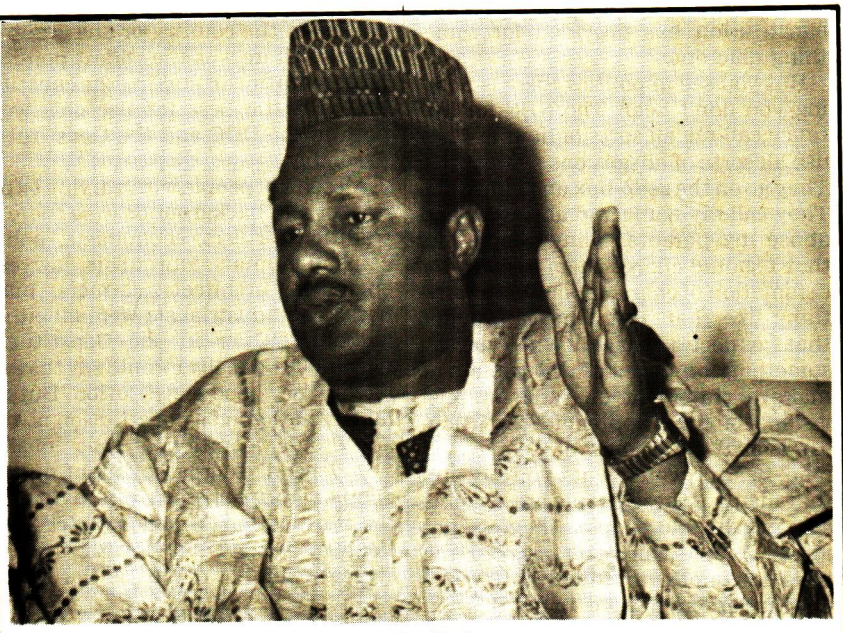
First of all, all of them are politicians. Secondly, they are politicians most of whom have contested and lost the elections. In fact, the one posted to Kano even went before an electoral tribunal and was found guilty of electoral malpractice. As a result he was declared the loser. But see how Shagari turned round to appoint that kind of fellow to be a liaison officer, in a PRP controlled State like Kano. This is a man also who while he was a commissioner committed a lot of wrong doings. He was probed and found guilty.

Apart from the questionable character of the personalities appointed by the President as liaison officers, they have also quoted Section 157 (e) claiming that that is the section that empowers the president to appoint liaison officers. But that is wrong. Section 157 (e) is referring to the power given to the president to appoint personal staff. **Liaison officers are not and can never be personal staff.**

There is no way you can twist or interpret the constitution to make a liaison officer a personal staff. Personal staff are the sort of people who work with you in your office like your secretary, press secretary, confidential secretary, clerical staff, administrative staff, your officially domestic staff in your house, like stewards and drivers, people like that. These are what are called personal staff. Your principal Private Secretary, things like that. Not the type of people you appoint to represent a whole Federal Government in a state and who would be in charge of every-thing that is Federal in that particular state. Those people cans never be regarded as personal staff. Therefore the appointment itself is wrongly done.

That however is not surprising. People like Richard Akinjide who is the Attorney-General of the Federation have succeeded in convincing the supreme court that there is something like two-thirds of a state. It is because the Supreme Court accepted that argument that we have Shagari as president of Nigeria today. The situation would have been completely different and we could have had peace and understanding in this country. The sort of things which the NPN is doing and the sort of unconstitutional errors which the President is committing emanate from the fact of insecurity. The President feels insecure in his office because he knows as a fact that he did not get into that office properly. The NPN as a party feels insecure. One, it is very unpopular in the country. Two, it does not enjoy adequate majority in the National Assembly to enable the president be having his way by means of getting his bills passed without any problem. It is because of this that the NPN went into an alliance with the NPP at the national level so that with the support of the votes of the NPP in the National Assembly, Shagari's government can be getting its way by getting bills passed or certain appointments made by the president, which have to go to the senate to be approved without any problem. The moment the NPP withdraws from the alliance Shagari cannot win again. So he cannot rule the country.

Going back to the issue of the constitution, the one we have is very good. Except that it is being violated by the president but we as a people who have sworn to defend and protect the constitution will make sure tnat neither the president nor other persons violate it and get away with it. We will make sure that the constitution is defended and protected and that everybody including the president works in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and not in accordance with their own selfish vested interests.



Gov. Rimi

REPUBLIC: This issue still leads us to one problem. Do you really think the people in the country as a whole can be redeemed in a mixed economy?

GOV. RIMI: Yes, I think they can. The type of constitution we have is a very flexible one. Whatever philosophies you advocate, can be taken care of by this constitution.

There is also the difference in the political parties. **With a party like the NPN, the people will never be redeemed. It is not in reality the intention of the NPN to work along that line. It is a class party. It is a party of the rich and the bourgeois elements.** It is the party of the guilty ones. The NPN is the only party that harbours almost all the criminals that are known and unknown in Nigeria. It is the only party that harbours almost all the people at the Federal, State and local government levels who have been probed and found guilty of one offence or another. All these people are in the NPN. Whether they are from Kano or Oyo, whether they are from Anambra or Plateau, whether they are from Borno or from Lagos State all of them have one thing in common and that is that they are people who have abused their offices while they had the privilege to be in office and they are people who have vested interest; people who have very strong connections with imperialist elements. With those type of people it is just not possible, it is not part of their programme, to redeem the people at all. Whatever they may say, what they actually do is different. They can make all the rosy statements and rosy promises like talking of green revolution. Whether the people are redeemed or not is not an issue in the constitution.

It is an issue of who really is ruling the people. If you had a party like the PRP in control everywhere in the country the situation would be different. People would feel free like they feel in Kano. Nobody would confiscate your property and go scot-free. Nobody would commit an offence and go scot-free. Nobody would feel he is so big that he can break the law and get away with it. You can't do that in Kano State whoever you are.

But in NPN states you can do a lot of things and get away with them. What we think is wrong is not the same thing they think is wrong.

REPUBLIC: At this juncture I would like to ask what is your attitude about this talk over qualitative and quantitative education. What is your educational package for Kano State?

GOV. RIMI: All sorts of descriptions have been given to the type of education which different parties want: free education, qualitative education, quantitative education and what have you. We in the PRP speak of functional education. By functional education we mean giving education which will

Contd. on page 20

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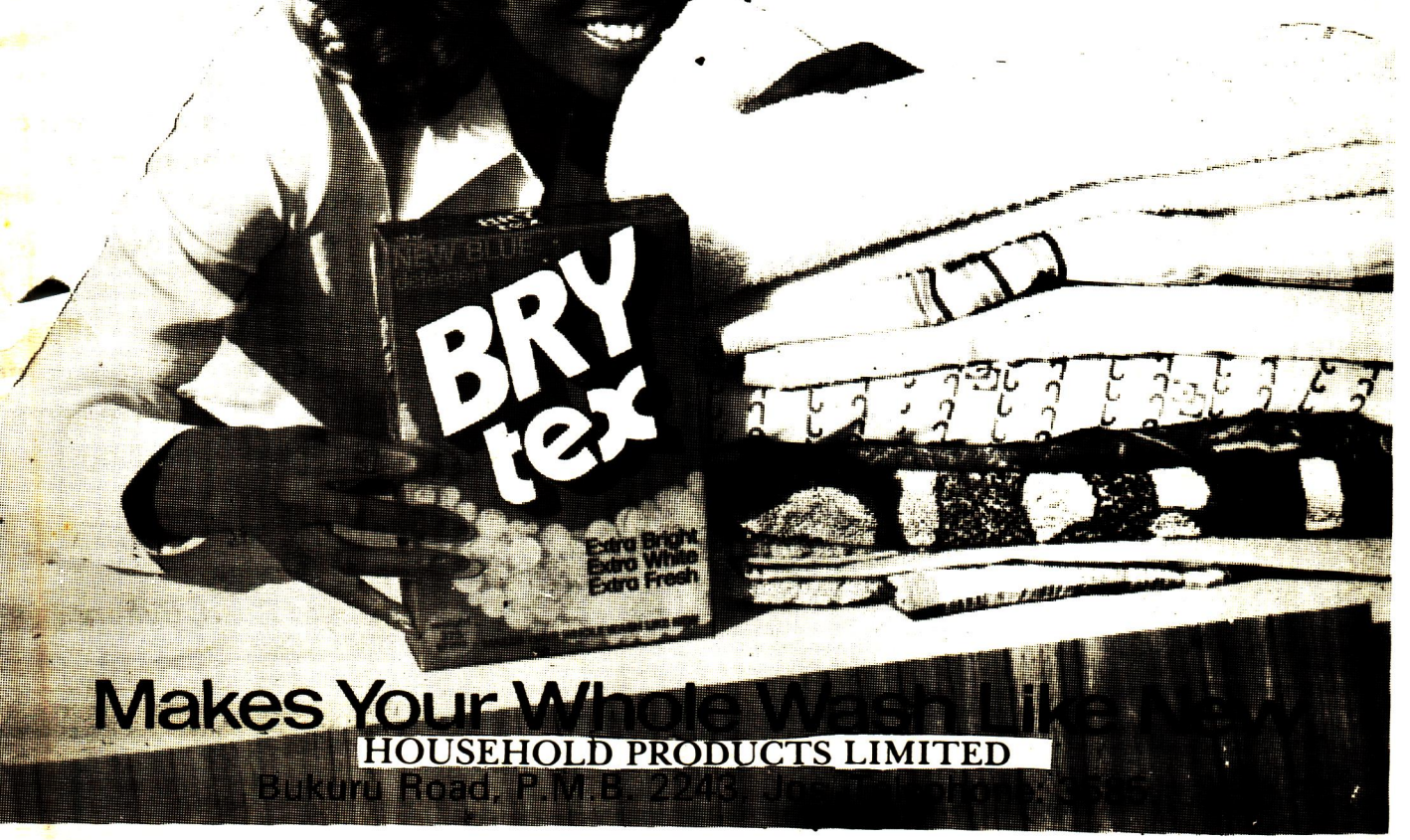

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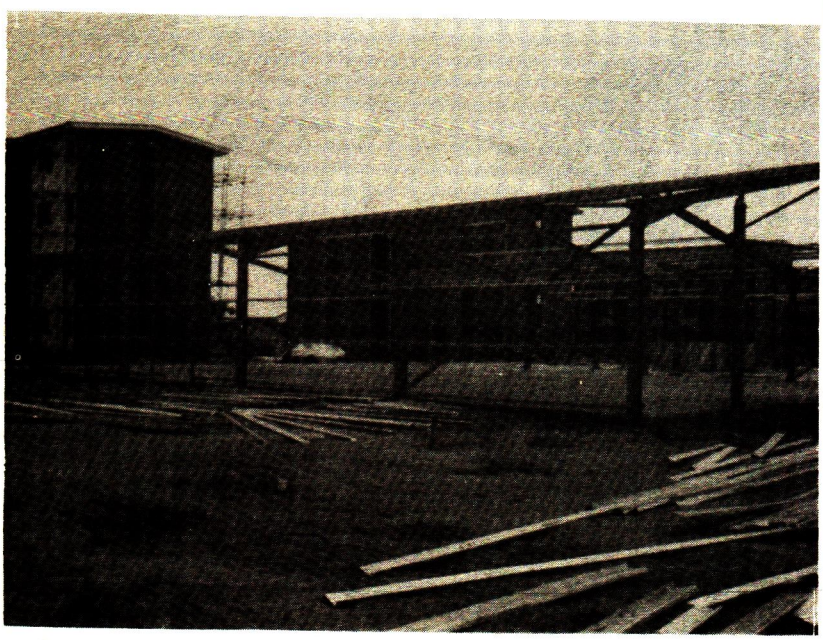

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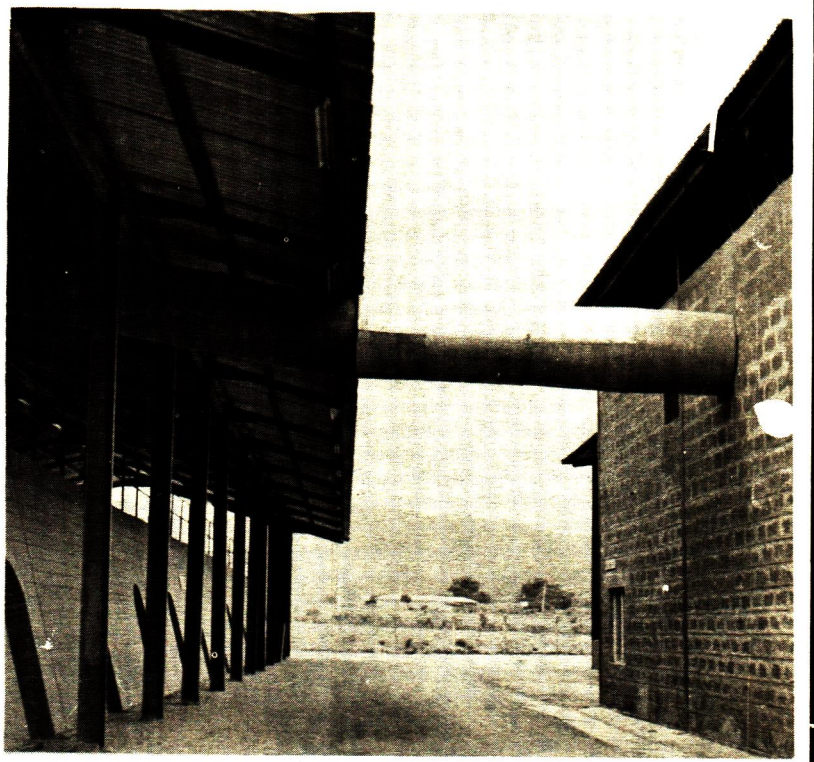
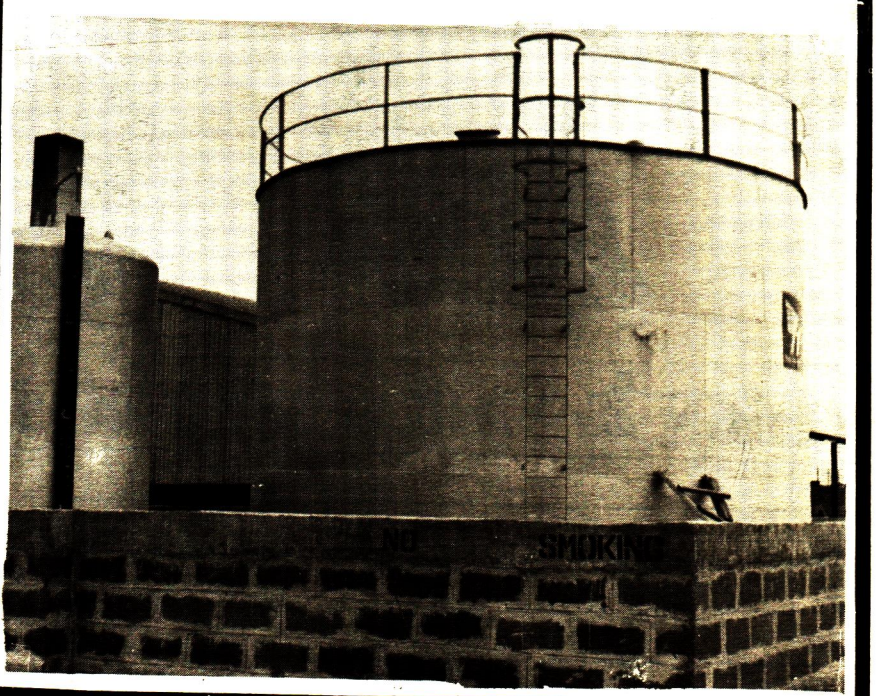
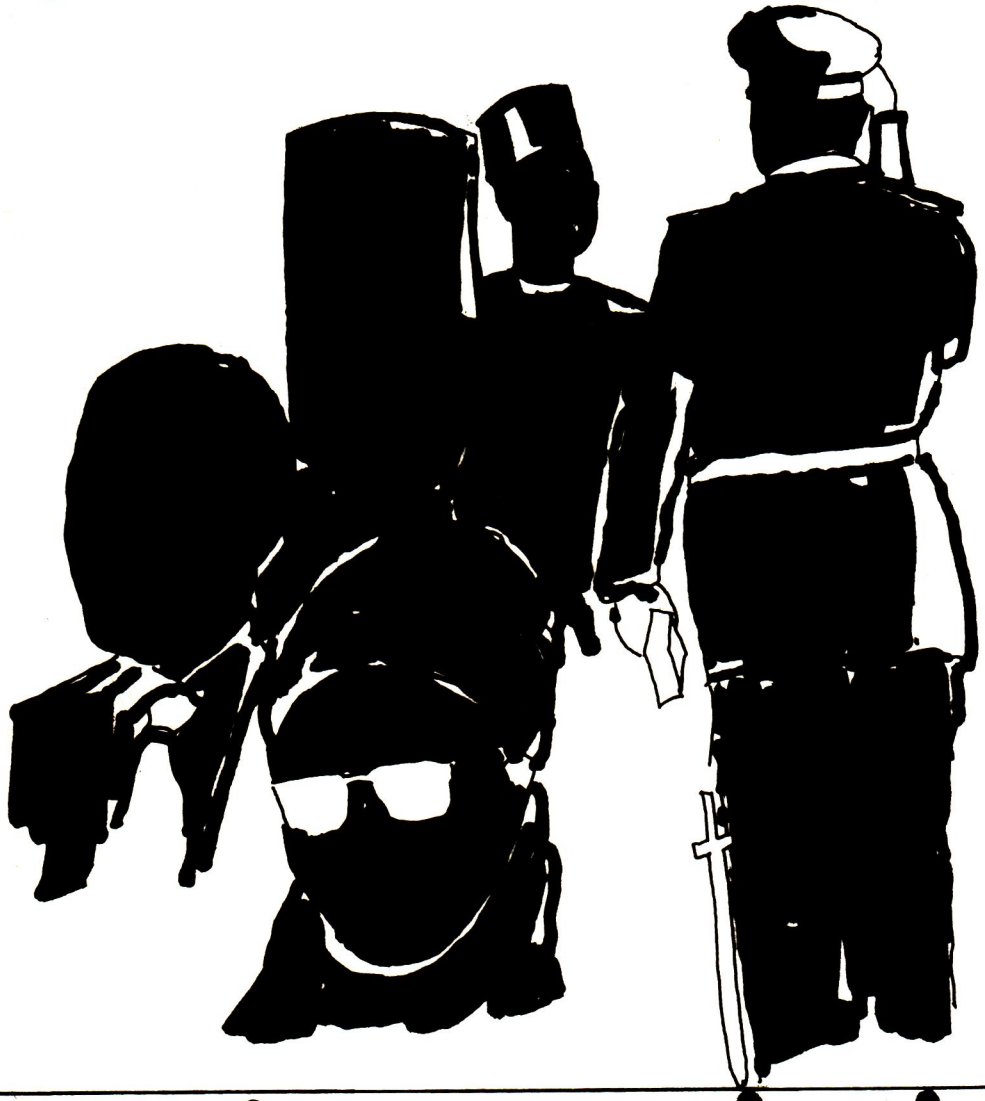




TEST YOUR VISUAL THINKING



WHICH IS WHO – WHO IS WHICH?

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	CHECK YOUR ANSWERS IN NEXT ISSUE OF THE REPUBLIC.

1980: SIGN-POST TO A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

I AM the political weather man.

Seven months of executive presidency have provided me with enough omen to proclaim at the top of my voice. I feel free to make political forecasts.

Straight away I prophesy a deluge and torrential down pour. I forecast that if Nigeria's first Executive President is associated in any way with another brazen faux pas akin to the major political blunder which has gone down in history as the ill-advised, ill-time and inquisitional Shugaba affair, he will not last his term. There will be no Nigeria, no executive presidency, no Shagari no National Party of Nigeria and no Great Nigeria People's Party.

My tone may sound alarmist and trite, but the substance can't be denied, and I have my reasons.

How did our troubles start in the sixties? Did they not begin with victimisation of innocent folk? Did they not start with the humiliation of people and reducing the salary of chiefs and obas belonging to rival parties from hundreds of pounds to one single miserable penny as a whole year's salary?

Is Shugaba not already a classic political scapegoat, if I might whisper that much?

Such costly mistakes must not be repeated. President Shagari's retinue of advisers cannot be so unlucky as to want a single honest man to deter him from such suicidal and nationally catastrophic course in the future.

Forecast. No. two. As the addition to recompense political supporters grows more and more intense in our political leaders, I predict that each of our 19 governors will soon establish his own sinecures in our local governments. They won't exactly be called local government liaison officers. Neither will they be called gubernatorial assistants for fear that they too will claim to be next to the governors, all to the pique and chagrin of local government chairmen. I suggest that the nomenclature will be a humble one such as local government observers, pure and simple.

They will look as harmless as liaison officers and unlike liaison officers they will prick nobody's anger and suspicion, since they would only be pursuing to a logical conclusion the argument over Shagari's liaison officers.

We will then have the whole country teeming and reeking with presidential and gubernatorial sinecures, aides, spies, snoopers and officers of sundry ranks and political grandiosity. Long live Executive Presidency.

However, if after all these we still need jobs for politicians and political stalwarts, I would strongly advise that we need political magicians, gymnasts and orators to perform their usual wonders in the intractable areas of galloping inflation in the country, scarcity of commodities that nobody is making any attempt to manufacture in this country but which are yet banned from importation or placed under license, the problem of how to find cars to buy (even ones assembled locally) without having to tip anybody, the recurring dilemma of fuel shortage and the ever biting cost of getting education for dependants on the present salary structure.

This piece was written before the budget.

But alas, these are no areas where political spoils and largesse are bestowed on supporters. They are only areas for silence and condonation admitting of no sweetened political garrulity, leaving us to wallow in square one.

Three. Professor Ali and his anti-Shagari stance and injuction. My orb reads that if UPN governors continue their independent attitude to federal affairs and the Head of State, they would sooner than later be proclaiming their own brand of Biafra and Aburi before 1983 runs out.

Once more, I'm not crying wolf. The temptation to secede only crept surreptitiously into Ojukwu and his fellow Biafrans. This idea started as innocently as confrontation occured to Professor Ali to flex his political muscles and measure it with federal might. If he had had his way the first time he would have certainly succumbed into thinking out a more ambitious plan of confrontation with President Shagari.

That was the pattern it worked with Ojukwu and his advisers. They started by trying with similar ideas of defying Yakubu Gowon and kept testing the popularity of that line of action until they were fully goaded into it by the ripe circumstances they had built for secession.

Professor Ali should be forced to revise the history of the civil war before he becomes the Chief architect of the graduated Takuma secession allegation. He should not repeat what will paint the UPN black all over again, since most of us believe that the UPN is one of the few unique parties that understands what is good for this country.

Last but not the least, the police in Borno State. I commend them. I pat them on the back. They have acted like Nigerian Policemen. They haven't let the President down. They haven't pretended that President Shagari is different from the NPN or vice verse. They have conformed to their traditional role and universal law that he who pays the piper dictates the tune.

The Nigeria Police have shown that they are Nigerians. They worship the power that be. They melt before official-dom. They cringe before the master's orders. They are obedient to a fault. With civilians they are obsequious with soldiers they mellow completely.

If they continue with this trend the soldiers will come back to help them carry out their jobs once more.

I hope my message is clear President Shagari should be warned. Governors should take hee. The Police should raise their heads above board and become men with their own mission, otherwise another Armageddon is just by the corner. Simple message, simple delivered.

Thank you.

make the individual self-reliant and independent; the type of education which can make somebody self-employed he doesn't have to go and work for anybody, government or a company. Education that will make you a good and patriotic citizen, not just to pass an examination and then look for a job. We want the individual to be imbibed with a sense of nationalism and patriotism. With the type of programme we have, the type of people we produce from our institutions are people who really have the love of the country and their fellow human beings at heart.

For instance at the moment you will find that a youngman who comes from a remote rural area without modern amentities but who has been educated would even refuse to go back to his home town to do even the NYSC. He will tell you that place is a bush place; there is no light, there is no electricity, no road, no water, no shopping area, no cinema etc; forgetting that his father and mother are still living there. This is the kind of miseducation which quite a number of Nigerians have gone through.

The way some of our people are being educated they feel that the black man does not know anything; the black man cannot achieve anything, only the white man knows how to do everything. This is a colonial kind of education. Some of us have had the privilege of having gone abroad; studied with the white people and beat them in examinations in their own country. We did this at the university level. I had classmates in the University of London and in the University of Sussex.

The colleagues and classmates where whites; some of them were Americans, Japanese, French or Germans and we beat them during examinations. We have better degrees than they have. But our own people who go to the universities here when they come out they tell you the blackman cannot do anything, he doesn't know anything. Which really shows how miseducated people can be. The type of education which we have in the country generally is one which makes people feel inferior to some other people. What we need is education which will make people functional.

REPUBLIC: There nave been mixed feelings about your pronouncements about traditional rulers, can you briefly explain your actual stand?

GOV. RIMI: Well. I think I have said so much about this issue of traditional rulers that I don't intend to say more except to say that I stand by everything I said before.

REPUBLIC: In considering national problems what do you think about the

Exclusive

current issue of GOWON and OJUKWU's return?

GOV. RIMI: Gowon and Ojukwu should be allowed to come back. That is my stand. A state can pardon citizens who have committed offences. There are people who committed treasonable felony and who were pardoned. Awolowo and some of his colleagues committed treasonable felony and they were sent to prison, some of them for 15 years some of them for ten years. Enahoro is one of them. He was sent to jail for 15 years. He was pardoned and later became a federal commissioner. Now he is the leader of NPN in Bendel State. Chief Awolowo was pardoned. He became a federal commissioner and now he is the leader of the UPN who even aspired to and contested the office of the president of Nigeria. So I don't think that whatever offences Gowon and Ojukwu might have committed are beyond pardon.

REPUBLIC: You recently talked about the possibility of a merger amongst some of our political parties what trends do you think such a merger would take, which parties may likely team together?

GOV. RIMI: I think it is becoming clear that the five parties in Nigeria belong to two different camps, essentially, the progressive parties and the reactionary parties. So if they are coming together they have to come together that way.

Secondly, it is my considered opinion that five political parties are too many for Nigeria and that with that number, and with the fact that already each one of those political parties is holding some state governments and have some Senators and members of Representatives at the federal level and state assembly members in certain states particularly where it is in control it could be very difficult for any of these parties to make very serious inroads into other states particularly because of the serious allegations being made about victimisations of political party opponents etc. But if there is a merger it means that already where two or three different parties are in control once they become one party automatically it means that it is that party that is in control in all those states and chances are that in the elections people have an easy choice between two or three parties, rather than choosing between five parties.

Also because we are operating a presidential system if you have only two or three presidential candidates, that is better than having five. If you have five, they will end up doing what they did at the last elections. At the state level they would vote for one gubernatorial candidate, but at the presidential level they will vote for another candidate belonging to another party which means really they are voting for personalities rather than for ideologies or for parties.

I think it is high time we forgot about the politics of personalities and worked seriously on the politics of issues. These issues can be clearly taken up by parties. You can easily know which party is pursing what issues and which party is opposed to those issues. You make the choice much easier to the electorate. The parties themselves will feel stronger particularly at the national level. As of now, as was clearly shown during the last elections no party had overwhelming support in the country.

That sort of thing is not good.

REPUBLIC: As one who has had experience in international relations, what do you think about President Shagari's foreign policy.

GOV. RIMI: President Shagari has no foreign policy. There is nothing new in what he is doing. There is neither innovation nor dynamism. I am talking from a professional point of view because foreign policy is my special area of interest, as someone who has studied international relations both at the under-graduate and ost-graudate level. I don't think foreign policy is an important element in the NPN programme. If you read what they call their manifesto they don't even understand what is foreign policy. They are just doing what has been done before. They are not giving serious attention to Southern Africa. They are not giving serious attention to the dignity and force of the blackman. Nigeria is not being heard as vigorously in international circles like the United Nations, like the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), like the ECOWAS and like the dying commonwealth. If Shagari knew foreign policy very well or if he had good advisers, Nigeria would have pulled out of the Commonwealth since October 1, but because of the type of party they have which has some imperialist connections and because the commonwealth itself is an imperialist organisation created by the British to put together all their colonial territories around the world in order to be able to manipulate and exploit them, Shagari and his government have continued to deal with the Commonwealth even though we actually have no strong basis for continued relations.

We should pay more attention to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) so that we ensure continental unity and continental socio-economic develop-

ments. We should also pay attention to what the blackman can do. Being in the Commomwealth is destructive. its basic donor countries still concentrate the export of state capital within the limits of their former colonial empires and do everything they can to keep imperialist competitors out. This is now called special or traditional ties.

In the period 1969 — 1971, for example, the average sum of $893.2 million, or 80 per cent, went to countries in the France zone: and of the $413.8 million which Britain allocated for this purpose $344 million went to commonwealth countries, with only $1.7 million going to countries outside the commonwealth.

Of considerably less interest to the "donor" are projects that do not have a high import content, even though the developing countries may have great need for them, various projects for developing agricultural production and the execution of agrotechnical measures. Regular expenditures for furnishing credits to farmers are also required. As Kenya's experience shows, the share of expenditures for imports in such projects does not exceed 25 per cent. A considerable part of the total cost of the projects is accounted for by current expenses, and the period during which building or other sturctures are erected or expanded is inseparable from the period of productive activity. The contribution that a project makes to the country's economy is sometimes not visible or obvious, and the economic benefits may be distributed among a large number of farmers and thus be inconspicuous.

Programmes for the development of education, public health, housing construction and so forth are also considered unprofitable

As a result of this approach to the choice of projects for financing, foreign assistance covers only a very small part of the total outlays for their construction within the frame-work of national development plans.

At the same time, if projects meet the requirements of the donor countries, the latter may even impose their assistance even though the advisability of building the projects may be very doubtful from the standpoints of the vital interest of the recipient country.

Thus, the Rosvioces dam in Sudan, built in 1966 with financing by the IBRD and the IDA, is in effect unutilised (according to data for 1975). After putting about $50 million of her own resources into its construction Sudan is getting no return from this investment and moreover is obliged to pay interest on the loans received from the bank and its affiliate.

There are serious doubts, for example, as to whether the building of a 1000 million power complex on the Niger River in Nigeria is economically advisable. The existence of considerable resources of oil and accompanying natural gas in the country gives grounds for considering it to be more economically profitable to build thermal electric station.

EFFECTIVENESS OF AID:

Most of the developing countries are deeply disappointed with the results of their economic development during the first decade of their independent existence. The hopes that the assistance of developed capitalist countries would substantially accelerate the economic growth rate and help bridge the tremendous gap in levels of economic development were not justified.

Some Western European economists like K. B. Griffin, J. L. Enos have pointed directly to the negative results of the developing countries use of foreign aid. "If anything, aid may have relegated development by leading to lower domestic saving, by distorting the composition of investments and thereby raising the capital-out-put ratio".

In his speech at the third session of UNCTAD, President of the IBRD Robert S. McNamara said that a study of national income distribution in more than 40 developing countries showed that the share of the national income going to the poorest groups of the population not only did not increase but even shrank.

The experience accumulated by African countries convinced them that the imperialist powers' aid policy and the volume of aid they are able to give to a developing country are determined not by the later's real needs for additional resources but by some particular economic, political or strategic interest of the donor in each specific case.

It would seem that priority in granting aid should go to the poorest countries, countries with the lowest per capital income, the least developed productive forces and the lowest standards of living. These countries, moreover, are frequently in an unfavourable geographical position which impedes economic development, such as having no outlet to the sea or occupying an Island remote from the main industrially developed zones. Yet these countries, classified as "least developed", are as a rule also the least attractive as prospects for capitalist aid.

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Foreign Review

BREZNNEV'S AFGHAN DILEMMA

By Peter Sager

INTERNATIONAL reaction to the Afghan crisis has astonished the Soviet leadership. They can respond to the growing resistance to their aggressive policies in two opposite ways. They can either force through their aggression to present the world with a fait accompli. Or they can withdraw to previous positions, as they did in Cuba in 1962. They can also play a waiting game — in the hope that the forces of resistance will suffer from usure. But the Soviet Union's economic problems are acute, and time may be working against it. Provided, that is, that the rest of us use the time available to consolidate the unity demonstrated in the latest UN General Assembly debate on Afghanistan.

One of the main pointers to the present situation is the enormous difference between what is happening now and the reactions of free countries to the Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1956 and 1968. On those occasions, the feelings of the peoples of western Europe became very deeply involved. But these feelings were not translated into a strong political determination to do something about future cases of Soviet aggression. Today's reaction is at the opposite pole: feelings about Afghanistan are not particularly strongly expressed, but the determination to do something about the situation created by the Soviet invasion is much greater than on previous occasions. This is largely because Afghanistan is part of the Third World, and consequently the West is not hampered by the non-co-operation of a majority of United Nations members.

There are a number of other reasons why the Kremlin has been pushed into a corner by world reaction to the inva-

sion of Afghanistan.

World reaction to this event is not only greater and more rationally expressed than on previous occasions, but it may also escalate to unknown proportions if the Soviet Unions does not do something to 'cancel' its aggression.

The limitation of Western grain and technology exports to the Soviet Union comes at a time when the Kremlin is already grappling with increasing economic difficulties at other levels.

— World reaction to Afghanistan has reprived the Soviet Union of much of its mobility in forming of foreign policy. If, for example, the Soviets should think in terms of military intervention in Yugoslavia on the death of Tito, they can now count on a much stronger reaction from the West and the Third World than before Afghanistan.

— Reaction to the invasion of Afghanistan has been particularly strong in the Islamic world. Never before have Moslems shown themselves as united as at the recent Islamabad Conference. Secondary effects amongst the millions of Moslems inside the Soviet Union are no longer to be discounted.

— The question of the Olympic Games is acute for the Soviets. If it really happens that the Moscow Olympics turn out to be a rump attended only by Communist countries Soviet prestige will have sunk very low.

—The banishment of the Soviet Nobel Peace Prize winner, Professor Andrei Sankharov, was necessitated by his hostile attitude to the Soviet invastion of Afghanistan. But it also works against Soviet prestige. In particular, it has brought out of hiding scientists in the West and in the Third World who were on previous occasions always in favour of continuing scientific co-operation whatever the political circumstances.

Last but not least, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has had effects unfavourable to Soviet policies on the situation in Iran, which previously seemed dead-set on a course towards the Soviet bloc. The new President, Abolhassan Banisadr, who have been in favour of a quick solution to the problem of the hostages, was given a huge majority in apparently, and surprisingly, free elections. Provided he is not overthrown by pro-Soviet forces, it may be that the succession of Khomeiny has already been settled — and not in a way favourable to Moscow.

For all these reasons, the Soviet leaders are today faced with an agonising dilemma. And because time is apparently working against them, they have to make a decision about the next step fairly quickly. Either they stay on the offensive, or they withdraw from Afghanistan. It would be a mistake to say that only one of these options is being discussed in the Kremlim.

Foreign Review

There are signs pointing to the possibility of another Soviet aggressive action. This would be a serious matter. Perhaps the Soviet Union has not yet taken the reactions of the rest of the world seriously enough. The Soviet leaders may be assuming that the promises of firm action in the event of future aggression is splintering the forces of the free countries instead of strengthening them. This is, after all, the mistake which Hitler made in 1939.

Brezhnev is reported to have hinted at such a position in his recent talks with the President of the French Parliament, M. Chaban-Delmmas, in which he said that the Soviets were

President Brezhnev

toying with the idea of making a preemptive attack on Chinese nuclear installations in Sinkiang — and where he claimed that the Soviet Union would not stand for effective strengthening of the defences of Western Europe. In recent weeks there has also been a dramatic increase in arms deliveries to Soviet satellites in the Third World, Syria, Ethiopia, and South Yemen, and accelerated construction of the new Soviet base on the South Yemeni island of Socotra. We can add to this scenario the cancellation of official visits by prominent West German politicians to Warsaw, Prague, Moscow and East Berlin. The idea is that the west Germans should suffer the cold blast the worst because their attitude to the Soviet invasion may be conditional for the rest of West Europe.

The Soviet Union — with its lamentable record — has little difficulty in making us believe in the possibility of future acts of aggression. But on the other hand the political and military escalation which these would create could easily get out of control. Then the count-down to world war would have started. But that would mean the end of the Soviet regime as surely as the last world war finally put an end to the Nazi regime.

Today's Soviet leadership is more rational than the Nazis were. They are not likely to engage intentionally on the road to general war. And this is the reason why the flow of Soviet threats against China and the West should be taken fairly calmly. Calm determination is the order of the day, and the more of this quality that can be injected into the response of Soviet provocation the less the risk of war will be.

The possibility that, now or later, the Soviet Union will withdraw from Afghanistan in response to world opinion lies open. Such a withdrawal has occurred before in recent times — at the time of the Cuban missile crisis in 1964. Circumstances are not the same now as they were then. Today the Soviet Union is the strongest power in the world. But this military strength was built up in order that political concessions could be won, and the Soviets are as aware as their adversaries that there can be no winners in the event of nuclear war.

Withdrawal from Afghanistan would still be a reasonable option for the Soviet Union. It might happen like this:

1. President Brezhnev might be overthrown and sent like his own victims to silent banishment.

2. The new leadership would then blame Brezhvev for leading the Soviet Union into the Afghan 'adventure' — conveniently forgetting that he is hindered by bad health from taking a very dynamic part in present decision-making.

3. This would be followed by a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan — accompanied, to be sure, by some sort of guarantee from the West that the pro-Soviet regime in Kabul would not be promptly overthrown, as happened in the aftermath of Cuba in 1962.

It might happen this way, or it might happen some other way. If it did happen like this, we can imagine the sighs of relief from those politicians who once more would have got round the problem of making a serious decision. And there would be loud crowing from others who would say that they had always said that the Soviet Union was on the side of peace. Meanwhile, poor Afghanistan would remain safely in the nick.

The idea of a change in the Soviet Afghan policy to be accompanied by personal changes in the Kremlin is not a joke. Such personal changes have long been in the offing in any case. The

present situation has strengthened the hand of four members of the Soviet Politburo, who have been in the background until now: Dimitri Ustinony, the Defence Minister, Yuri Andropow, the head of the secret police, Andrei Gromyko, Foreign Minister, and Mikhail Susloy, the Chief Communist ideologue.

One thing is certain: the continued unity of the non-Communist world is of the most vital importance. And this is true either with or without the option described above., It must be real, demonstrated unity, and at several levels: unity amongst those who subscribed to the recent U.N. General Assembly resolution on Afghanistan, a combination of Third World and Western countries; unity inside the Atlantic partnership between Western Europe and the United States; unity between China and the United States. If such unity of purpose can be maintained, Afghanistan may be a milestone on the road to a durable peace rather than on the road to war. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Russia's own great philosopher, has said in his most recent pronouncement: 'Communism stops only when it encounters a wall, even if it is only a wall of resolve'

AID AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NEO-COLONIALISM

By Austin Orisakwe

THE role and significance of a new form of economic relations between developed countries and the third world countries, so-called economic and technical aid, had become fully evident by the 1970s. The form itself had emerged under the influence of a number of socio-economic factors, the development of state-monopoly tendencies in contemporary capitalism, and processes taking place in the young states.

As a politico-economic category, "aid" is the natural result of the development of the basic laws of capitalism as a system, and in its main features is fully determined by these laws. "Aid" has a direct relation to the export of capital, a fundamental feature of imperialism.

FORMS OF AID:

There are two major forms of aid flowing into the developing countries. These are: state loan capital and private export credits. As a specific form of the export of state loan capital (usually offered primarily in commodity form), aid is not organically connected with the results of its use. The state credits or the grants of the capitalist donor stimulate a growth of the creditor country's commodity exports. However, the repayment and servicing of a loan, as well as the realisation of the surplus value materialised in the commodities delivered under the credits granted, have no relations to the productive use of the loan capital.

The basic type of economic assistance given by developed countries is "projects aid" that is, the financing of the building of specific projects for the national economy. The usual condition on which the foreign credits are granted for this purpose is that the project promises to be sufficiently profitable commercially. This is held to be the major criterion of the overall economic significance of the project and hence of the effectiveness of the entire investment.

Private export credits are an important type of financial resources coming into the developing countries. An ordinary means of trade policy in relations between equal partners, they have an extremely adverse effect on the economies of young developing states. The usual repayment period for these credits is from 2.5 to 6 years, and payments often begin before constructions of the financed project is completed. Thus the recipient country is deprived of the chance to make payment on the loan from the income of the enterprises built on the borrowed funds. The prices for equipment delivered against such credits are as a rule considerably higher than world market prices, which leads to a substantial rise in the real rate of interest, reaching 10 and even 20 per cent per annum.

Export credits, both private and official, are at the present time the basic factor in the growth of the developing countries' indebtedness to developed creditor countries, and the condition of repayment of this debt is becoming one of the third world's most acute problems.

MOTIVES BEHIND AID:

It is mainly political factors that

President Carter

Mrs. Thatcher

motivate the developed countries' decisions to grant resources to developing states on easy terms. The developed "donor" country regards easy-term credits or subsides as an important way to strengthen its position in a given developing country, support the ruling regime it likes and influence socio-economic processes there. The question of the economic effectiveness of the aid recedes into the background. The volume of aid is determined by the need to create an "impressive effect" in the recipient country; hence a substantial part of the aid resources is spent on handouts to the ruling elite and erecting prestigious non-industrial projects. To achieve "political stability" considerable funds are spent on strengthening the police apparatus and the armed forces.

Also the developed states without ceasing its efforts to influence the politics of the recipient country, pursues also its immediate economic aims. There may consist both in capturing or expanding markets for its commodity exporters and in creating more favourable conditions for capital investments in the economy of the given developing country.

To foster the capturing or expanding markets for its commodity exporters, donor countries employ the 'tying credits'. The recipient of tied aid is obliged to use the money received for buying goods in the donor country. Frequently a credit is granted to the developing country on the condition that it be used to build a specific project for one reason or the other. Technical assistance is also in fact of tied nature. As a rule, grants are used by the donor state itself to pay the specialists it sends to the developing country.

Tied credits are very symptomatic. The intensification of the inter-imperialist struggle for markets, the instability of the domestic economic situation, the deterioration of the balance of payments position in a number of imperialist countries, and serious currency upheavals — all these are factors that have determined, along with other forms of state-monopoly protectionism, the policy of tied aid.

For donor countries, the tying of cridits serve as a powerful means of accelerating the export of goods and services. According to available figures every million dollars which the United States had spent under aid programmes without any restrictive condition imposed on the recipent created additional markets for only $360,000 worth of American goods. The recipient country was free to spend the rest of the money to purchase the goods it needed in other, more favourable markets.

As a result of tying, however, the United States has been able to secure growth of its exports of $760,000 for every million dollars worth of aid, i.e. more than twice as much as with untied credits.

It is usually the recipient country that loses. The inevitable results of restricting the right of the buyer to select the most advantageous commodity supplier is that selling prices become inflated in accordance with the laws of capitalist competition. Frequently, the recipient country has to buy goods under an aid agreement at prices over 30 to 40 per cent higher than the prices for similar goods on the world market. Irrational shipments of commodities linked with the sources of financing cause additional losses. As a result of the higher prices for goods and services the real economic benefits flowing to the developing countries from donor countries is substantially reduced, while the burden connected with its use correspondingly grows.

AREAS OF INTEREST OF DONOR COUNTRIES:

Although "aid" arose in the era of the collapse of the colonial empires, it nonetheless bears features characteristic of the colonial period. Its clear-cut division according to the 'spheres of influence' of the major capitalist powers is one indication of this.

The Fourth Estate

THE PRESS: JANUARY 1980

JANUARY 4

ADDRESSING the Planning Committee of the National Convention of the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) at the Press Centre in Jos, the Plateau State Commissioner for Information Internal Affairs, Protocol and Printing, Mr. Gideon G. Barde, urges the NUJ to practise democracy in keeping with the spirit of the new constitution to justify the union's existence.

JANUARY 7

The Kwara State Governor, Alhaji Adamu Atta approves ₦15,000 for the state's branch of the Nigerian Union of Journalists in aid of the Press Centre being constructed in Ilorin by the Union.

JANUARY 10

The Chairman of the NUJ Planning Committee Jos, Mr. Tommy Yale, in a release appeals to firms and individuals to donate to the committee to ensure the success of the convention.

JANUARY 1, 1980

Borno NUJ appoints a five-man caretaker committee to run the affairs of the Borno State branch for two months.

JANUARY 14,

The NUJ, Benue branch boycotts the activities commemorating the Nigerian Army Week to demonstrate its support for the unjustifiable harassment of a New Nigerian Photographer in Kaduna.

JANUARY 17,

The National President of the NUJ, Chief Michael Asaju appeals to the Kaduna Chapel of the NUJ to suspend temporarily the ban imposed on coverage of military activities in Kaduna State.

JANUARY 19

The Board of Governors of Nigerian Institute of Journalism (NIJ) pays a courtesy call on President Shehu Shagari.

JANUARY 20

The Nigerian Breweries Limited (NBC) donates ₦2,000.00 to the Nigerian Institute of Journalism.

JANUARY 21

Fifty Oyo State veteran journalists who have contributed immensely to the development of Nigerian journalism awarded honours by the state council of the NUJ.

JANUARY 24.

The Governor of Kano State Alhaji Abubakar Rimi says that one of the problems facing journalists in the country was poor conditions of service.

NUJ conference starts in Jos.

JANUARY 28

The President of the NUJ, Chief Michael Asaju launches the first political magazine in the country — 'THE REPUBLIC'.

JANUARY 29

The week-long conference of the NUJ ended in Jos with marginal achievements and a much more slender purse.

Advertiser's Announcement

HISTORY OF KANWA TRADING COMPANY LIMITED

We, **(KANAWA TRADING COMPANY)** seize this opportunity to congratulate the First Executive Governor of Kano State, ALHAJI MOHAMMADU ABUBAKAR RIMI, members of his cabinet, and Honourable members of the House of Assembly for their achievements during their five months tenure of office.

We, therefore, sincerely wish the Government of Kano State more grease to their elbow in redeeming the common-man from oppression, injustice and all evil practices in our society. We urge them to continue with their useful services to the people of this state and our beloved country in general.

For your information, we joined the defunct N.S.M.B. during the 1967/68 Groundnuts/Cotton Season. When the commodity Boards was established by DECREE No. 29 by the former Military Administration, our services were transferred to the Nigerian Groundnuts/Cotton Boards respectively, as buying agents.

I, Alhaji Nelele Kulo, on behalf of the entire members and the Board of Directors of **KANAWA TRADING COMPANY LIMITED**, of No. 6, Galadima Road, P.O. Box 649, Kano, Telephone No. 7039 have the pleasure to give a brief history of our indigenous company, namely — **KANAWA TRADING COMPANY LIMITED.**

This company was formed at least about 12 years ago. Its main business is to buy Nigerian produce, such as groundnuts, cotton, soya beans, guinea corn, millet and others to mention a few. After buying from the local farmers, we deliver to the Nigerian Grains Board, formerly the Northern States Marketing Board (NSMB).

When we buy such produce using our own resources with banking aid, we weigh them, transport them and deliver them to any Board store throughout the country according to the Board's direction.

After that, the Board pays us with commission. This is what we have been doing for the past 12 years.

In 1978, the Board of Directors of our company, for your information, thought of changing our line of operation to building contracts, exporting, importing, manufacturers' representatives agency. In this very year, 1980, we are proposing to establish a large factory for the manufacture of soft drinks, mosquito coils and school materials.

Those are the three major projects we are intending to establish to be completed before 1986. We cannot do it without the government's aid or any overseas firms which has interest in such projects to join in the venture and finance us. We welcome any well wisher to come forward and co-operate with us.

The big problem facing us now is to get land from the government to encourage us to develop it with a view to inviting any overseas wishers. We cannot contact any interested persons or companies without getting the land.

We are praying to the Almighty God to help us and others to solve our problems now. To be sincere, whenever we establish any one of the three of these projects, it will help our people to get jobs in our state and the country in general. in our state and the country in general.

REPUBLIC. How true is it that you will soon start a hostile Newspaper as a step to the alleged grand plan for succession supposedly being hatched by Chief Awolowo?

GOV. RIMI: Who made that allegation?

REPUBLIC: The NPN.

GOV. RIMI: So what do you expect from the NPN about PRP? They are afraid that when we establish our own Newspapers we will be speaking the truth as we are doing now. We will expose all their lies and hypocrisy. This is what they fear.

While I am not holding brief for Chief Awolowo, I am not aware that he will secede.

It is a political mischief which was manufactured by the NPN in order to forestall our own activities.

Moreoever, they are still feeling terribly insecure with the unity between PRP UPN and GNPP governments Shagari feels terribly threatened and you can judge this by the type of statements that came from his office recently, trying to defend the indefensible, trying to justify the appointment of liaison officers, calling governors all sorts of names etc.

Also these people do not want newspapers that can speak for the people. They want newspapers like the Herald or the New Nigerian which will always be twisting whatever they want to publish or publishing shameless lies.

Even the issue of secession itself is a shameless lie. That statement itself made by the NPN General Secretary, Suleiman Takuma, was mischievous and shameless.

But it was also a diversionist tactic. As you know very well, and as the nation and the world knows Shagari is a confused person. He is a man who is being manipulated by forces which he just cannot control. He is surrounded by vultures who want power and money They are pushing him to do a lot of unconstitutional things like the appointment of liaison officers and the deportation of an elected and responsible member of a state house of Assembly who in fact is the leader of the Assembly in Borno State. They also want to divert attention from the crisis which the NPN as a party is facing. As you know all over the country the NPN is facing serious leadership problems. It is so in Bendel, Kano, Lagos, Sokoto and infact everywhere. These things are being exposed everyday. Therefore what Suleiman Takuma did was to create situation of diversion so that the attention of the nation would be diverted to things which do not exist at all. The serious issue which is being created by Shagari and the NPN are forgotten. Well, we will not forget them and we will go ahead and establish that paper and when we establish it, they will see that it is not the type of paper like the New Nigerian or Herald which tell lies. It is going to be a responsible and respectable newspaper, which is going to reach the masses and a paper which will be a voice of the people so that anybody can speak through that newspaper without his voice or views being suppressed.

EXCLUSIVE

REPUBLIC: Some states have recently cried out against the activities of the police force in their respective states. Do you have any problems with the police in this state?

GOV. RIMI: We don't have very serious problems with the police as such. Except that at least with the top level of the police we are not in very good terms. Generally speaking the police also are in a state of fear as of now.

As you know under the constitution the police are federal although when they are in a state they must take directives from the state governor. If you look at section 195 of the constitution, you will find that the governor of a state has constitutional powers to direct the commissioner of police on any issue pertaining to law and order, peace and security of that state. If the governor gives the police orders, they must obey.

So really, what the police did in places like Borno and Bendel states is a violation of the consitution. Because in Borno State the government there had complained against the activities of the NPN, and the governor had called on the police to intervene and ensure the maintenance of law and order in Borno state and the police did not, which means they did not comply with section 195 sub-section 4 of the constitution. That is unconstitutional.

Of course they came up later on with some statements giving their own version of what happened in Borno State. The police being what they are, they can cook any kind of stories. They are very good at that.

REPUBLIC: Thank you very much for your brief and pertinent answers to this interview. We hope the public will have it as something interesting coming from you again.

GOV. RIMI: I hope rather that you will take time to report only what we have discussed and give the public a chance to assess what we do and what we say. You people who are publishers and own the media are the means of communication between the government and the people, and between us the politicians and the public. If you tell the public exactly what we say, then we would have no quarrel with you as journalists or publishers. Where we have quarrel with the media or operators of the media is when what we do or say is twisted to mean something else as they constantly do in the New Nigeria and the Herald.

These days a new style has evolved. Even the Federal Radio Corporation and the Television stations because they are under the control of the Federal Government for the time being are twisting things.

REPUBLIC: Are you also in favour of taking over the Television stations?

GOV. RIMI: It is not a question of taking over. It is a question of determining to get them back. It is not a question of taking over. If you are taking over something, it implies that you are taking something which has never been yours before. The fact about television stations in Nigeria is that they were built by states. Even the very first television which was built in 1958 in Ibadan belonged to the then Western Region. The first television in what was Northern Nigeria in Kaduna was built by the Northern government. So were the television stations in the four eastern regions. When states were created and they had television stations they were built by the states. It was only two years ago that the Federal Government enacted a decree and took over the television stations and made them federal.

While they effected this takeover by decree during the military

administration, the states from which they took these stations were not paid. Under the new constitution, states are free to establish their own television stations, newspapers and universities if they want. They don't have to ask anybody because the constitution gives them that right.

What we are saying is that we should get these television stations back so that they help us in reaching the people. At the moment they are blocking us from reaching the people, because what we do and say are not adequately and properly reported. Instead the workers there are afraid of the NPN governments, because these institutions are controlled by the Federal Government. So there is a lot of politics in the whole thing. People are feeling insecure in organisations because they feel if they don't support the Federal Government, they would be disciplined or dismissed from their jobs. And you must know that the NPN is a very vicious party. See how they treated the workers of Herald in Ilorin. This was done to give example to workers in any where. This was very bad. We feel this type of insecurity must be stopped.

Moreover, these organisations are inefficient. They are not functioning well because everything is certainly controlled from Lagos and you have to get approval for everything from Lagos to do the simplest thing. There is no delegation of authority adequate enough to make the organisations function efficiently.

It is like the P. & T. and some of these federal bodies. They are not working properly. If they were under state governments they would function properly. But they are federal institutions. See how inefficient and ineffective they are.

This is why we feel concerned about television. We are determined to get these stations back. But if the Federal Government wants to continue keeping them we will have no quarrel. But we want the money back, so that we can establish our own. But what we will not allow is for the Federal Government to take these stations and sit tight. That we will not allow. Whether it is Shagari or Sha-anything in the presidential office. That is unacceptable.

REPUBLIC: You also raised some problems about government ownership of newspapers the way parties handle them later. Will you ensure in Kano State that when you have your newspaper the people actually control it and not the government.

GOV. RIMI: You see there are certain things in establishing a government newspaper. When you establish a government newspaper, if you want it to have credibility and sell, to be really regarded as responsible and respectable, then it cannot be one that sings the praises of the government all the time like the Herald and the New Nigerian are doing. If you do, certainly anything that comes out of it people will say 'oh, it is a PRP paper. We expect that' But when people read the paper and read the truth, when the PRP is wrong or when the government of PRP is wrong and that paper publishes it, or when Governor Rimi is wrong and they say so, or when Shagari is right they say so, or when UPN or NPN is right they praise them, then people will say, 'oh yes, this is a responsible newspaper'. We will not allow a newspaper that will be singing my praise all the time or praising the PRP. We want a paper that will be speaking the truth, that will be a medium of communication with the people and through which the ordinary person can publish an article or make a statement and get it published no matter whether it affects me or my government or the PRP as a party or anybody.

"This is what we think should be done rather than suppressing information".

The important thing is that if what is written is not the correct thing, then the following day you should give your own version. This is what we feel should be done rather than suppressing information and refusing to publish what others have said just because they are emanating from opposing parties or a particular person whose face you don't like. Or twisting things and giving them to the public in the wrong way. We wouldn't allow our newspaper to do a thing like that, not like the Herald or New Nigerian.

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LEGISLATORS AND PARTY LINES

By Victor Udom

MOST members of the National Assembly believe that it is religiously expected of them to 'tow the party's line" at all times. Once, however, a senator questioned: "What is democracy if everybody believes in the same thing, or everybody is forced to believe in the same thing?"

Some incidents which took place the day the National Assembly first met indicated to the nation that some legislators would occassionally take stands in defiance of their party view points. The NPN/NPP alliance had proposed senator Joseph Wayas as their candidate for the presidency of the senate. In opposition, the UPN/GNPP/PRP group presented Senator Justice Atake for the post.

The clerk of the House called for a vote and surprisingly Senator Cayus Gilama, a national vice-chairman of the UPN, voted against his party's candidate and thus became the first legislator to defy his party's stand.

Another UPN legislator, Mr. G. B. Sadiku from Epe, has also made it clear in the House of Representatives on several occasions that he stands for "unity and oneness". During his very first speech in the House, he elucidated on this point: "The safety or unity of the country compels us, enforces us, obliges us that when matters of common interest do come to the floor of the House we should forget party politics and work together for unity and oneness. Those who are priviledged to be members of the government party should take this to heart. Those who are not in the governing party should equally take it to heart".

Mr. Sadiku does not only preach but also practices what he preaches. Because of his convictions, he at times finds himself taking stands different from his party's. He was recently "conferred" with the title of "Bishop" by the Speaker and honourable members now refer to him as the honourable "Bishop", because he has been known to sermonise while contributing to debates.

While proposing an amendment to a motion recently, he began by urging members "to learn to compromise, to learn to accommodate one another and to learn that we are keepers of one another". This made another honourable member, Mr. T. O. Badejo (UPN, Mushin), to call for a point of information.

Mr. Speaker: What is your information?

Mr. Badejo: He is giving a sermon on the mount!

Speaker: We enjoy what you are saying, Mr.Sadiku, but do not forget that this is not a church. This is a National Assembly and we talk politics here.

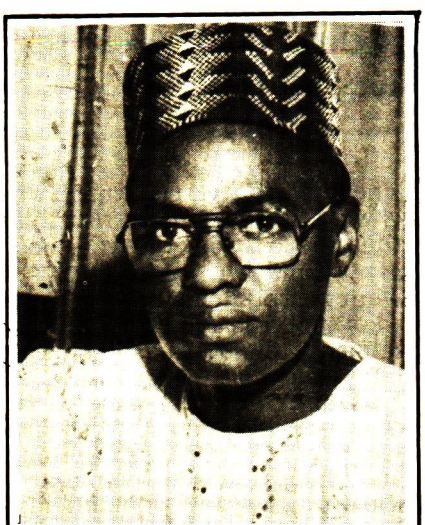
Take another case: Not long ago, the Speaker of the House of Representatives was accused of partiality and partisan leanings by some members. The House was debating a motion on whether or not to officially congratulate Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a former President of Nigeria, on his 75th birthday. Some members of the PRP, GNPP and UPN felt that the Speaker deliberately refused to allow them to contribute to the debate because of their opposition to the motion. They decided to protest by staging a walk out. As they were trooping out, some members of their parties stayed behind.

For example, Dr. Junaid S. Muhammed, the PRP Chief Whip, refused to join his colleagues. He said the walk-out was "unfortunate", adding that the episode was based on "flimsy, trivial issue". Mr. Okon John Ekpenyong (GNPP, Uyo) also refused to walk out. He felt that "a people who never look backward to their ancestors will not look forward to posterity', adding that "but for Zik, Nigeria would have been another Zimbabwe". Mr. Abdul K. Lanko (UPN, Gongola) did not also seem to understand why his party members should walk out. He refused to join them.

Take yet another case: Some non-conformist legislators from the five political parties in the Senate voted against the nomination of Chief Richard Akinjide of the NPN and Mr. Paul Unongo of the NPP as Cabinet ministers. When the names of the two gentlemen were re-submitted to the Senate, some members felt that the earlier decision should not be rescinded. The atmosphere became charged, tension mounted, and many members walked out on Dr. Wayas.

At the end of the day, it was discovered that of those who walked out, 26 were UPN senators, four GNPP, three PRP and three NPP. Senator Ademola Adekoke, Cayus Gilama and Lucas Zink, all of UPN, were among those who did not walk out with their colleagues. Of those who remained, 48 voted for the confirmation of Chief Akinjide, one against, while seven abstained from voting.

Twenty-eight voted for Paul Unongo's confirmation, six voted against him and seven abstained. Among those who voted against him were Senators Joseph Tarka, Ebute and Abogede, all



President Shagari

Dr. Joseph Wayas
President of the Senate.